

THE
PARALLEL:

Being the SUBSTANCE of

2

TWO SPEECHES,

Supposed to have been made in the CLOSET,

By TWO DIFFERENT MINISTERS,

Some Time before a late DEMISE?

Humbly submitted to

The JUDGMENT of THOSE

Who are to consider of the

RENEWAL of Our PRUSSIAN Treaty.

L O N D O N :

Printed for William Nicol, at the Paper-Mill,
in St. Paul's Church-Yard.

M DCC ^{XL}II.

[Price One Shilling.]

21 January 1762.

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THE design of the author in publishing these sheets, is not to exasperate his readers minds against any particular person, but to contribute the little he is able towards the removing the unhappy prejudices of the times, and convincing the publick of the fatal tendency of a measure, which has already brought us to the brink of ruin, and must precipitate the nation into the most fatal calamities, if we pursue it any farther.

B

Aftg.

After having conquered for ourselves in one war, we have been exhausting our very vitals in another for the sake of foreigners, who have not the least regard for us, or community of interest with us. The distress which is hereby brought upon our finances, and the low condition of our publick credit, has now given encouragement to another power to quarrel with us, and engage us in a third war.

This has introduced an intirely new state of things, which demands the most serious attention of such as wish well to their country, and the universal concurrence of all parties in obviating the mischiefs, which we have so much reason to apprehend from it.

The greatest part of the nation are now convinced of the utter impracticability of carrying on a French war and Spanish, under the load of a German war, whose expence is become greater than them both.

In order to promote such a general concurrence, and overcome the prejudices of those, who are unhappily influenced by the authority of any particular party, I here present the reader with the substance of two speeches, supposed to have been made in the closet, by two different ministers. The one at the time of the first breaking
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ing out of the present war, the other soon after the making of the treaty of Closter-Seven.

The first of these came to light at the time of the resignation of two honourable gentlemen, who, with their several followers, gave up all the emoluments which they enjoyed in the publick service, rather than concur in measures which they thought destructive of its interest; and then publicly told their reasons for so doing. These reasons carried in them such full and cogent conviction, that the whole nation testified their approbation of their conduct, by every mark of respect and honour which it was in their power to bestow on them.

These reasons, when considered only in theory, gained the publick assent. They now stand verified and confirmed by six years experience. Every thing which was foretold in them, we have since seen fulfilled; and the evils, which we then *feared*, we now *feel*. They were soon after published to the world, under the title of *Deliberate Thoughts on the System of our late Treaties with Hesse-Cassel and Russia*. The reader will find a very high entertainment in the whole book; and they whose attachments to a particular party, render them indisposed to attend to any other writers, may there take instruction from their friends. But the part of it, which I

am now concerned with, is the following speech; which is supposed to have been made by the person who then held the first place in the royal favour. The substance of it the author tells us was as follows :

‘ **Y**OUR M—— knows that altho’ I have only the honour to be a M——r of Great Britain, yet I have been always proud to consider myself as a servant of your E——l dominions. Those of my predecessors, whose example I am most desirous to copy, acted with an uniform attention to the Germanick part of your interest; and I should be unworthy of the distinction, favour, and high office which I enjoy, if I could pursue those interests with a zeal less ardent, a diligence less active, or a precaution and foresight less wary and vigilant than theirs. It is the apprehension of evil threatening H——r, which now fills my mind with unfeigned concern. And what adds (if possible) to my uneasiness, is that this danger proceeds from Great Britain, and arises from her embroilments with France. For if there were no mixture of British consideration in the risques to which H——r is exposed, I should have the more unquestionable proofs to give of the purity of my affection to that country.

The continued encroachments, injustice, and violence of the French in North America have at length exasperated the British nation, and drove us to the necessity of vindicating our rights by arms. And if the contest between the two nations be confined to the sea and to America, the superiority of our navy over the fleet of France, and the inequality of American force in our favour, hold out all the hopes of a successful issue that human probability can give. By a war thus pursued we
might

might reasonably expect to dictate terms of peace in the end, and prescribe to the French the boundaries of their empire in the western world. For if the interests of your island were disconnected from the rest of Europe, the French would have no resource to counteract our operations, except an attempt to invade us. An enterprize little less than desperate, if this kingdom were prepared, as it might be, for their reception : Since they would contend against all chances ; aiming to transport an army across the sea in spite of a stronger navy, and that army to maintain its ground against a powerful body of regular forces in an enemy's country, where every inhabitant is an implacable foe to the invader, and reinforcements not to be sent from France, but under the same difficulties. In such a view of affairs we see nothing but perplexities on the side of France, and a fair prospect on the part of Britain.

But if our advantage in these particulars be thus apparent to us your M——'s M——s, it cannot be supposed to escape the discernment of the French administration ; for in speaking of the counsellors of foreign princes, common modesty forbids to presume ourselves wiser than they are. Which way then can French policy turn itself, conscious of their inability to withstand the war of this island, and yet resolved to retain their unjust possessions to the last ? Nothing remains but to cast their eyes upon the continent of Europe ; there indeed we have a precious pledge, justly precious to your M——, thrice precious to your faithful servants ; which if the French can wrest it from us, will cast the ballance in the account of war entirely in their favour. For if this event should happen, in vain would your navies triumph, and your American subjects conquer. Pitiful and
ungrateful

ungrateful would be the British M——r, who could hesitate to surrender all these lesser American advantages, and to accept of any terms of accommodation for the sake of regaining a territory so important to your M——'s personal interest, and so essential to your figure and greatness in the eyes of all Germany ; and as necessity seems to point out to the French this plan of operation to wound Great Britain through the sides of H——r, so France appears to be provided with suitable means for carrying that plan into execution. Besides their own immense armies, and resources almost inexhaustible, the King of Sweden is their fast ally ; the King of Denmark their subsidiary ; the Elector of Cologne, ready to permit the erection of magazines in his country for the maintenance of French troops marching into Westphalia ; and what is most material, the King of Prussia, at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand of the best disciplined troops in Europe, hath been long the pensioner of France, cannot exist without her support, holds unnatural but determined enmity to your M——'s Person, and, in addition to the rest, happens to be situated within a few days march of your electoral Capital.

When I consider this military monarch, conducting his troops to the borders of that helpless unfortified country (the same troops which so lately over-run the Electorate of Saxony, and took a quiet possession of Dresden :) When I consider the numerous armies of France pouring from another quarter to the same destination (I own my weakness) the idea terrifies me, and shakes every joint of my frame. Many an anxious hour have I devoted to devise means of resisting so mighty a torrent, and I esteem myself the happiest of ministers in having found out at last an effectual counter-project to
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the pernicious designs of France ; which I do now humbly presume to lay at your royal feet. It is — to collect an army upon the continent of Europe large enough to withstand an hundred thousand French, seconded by an hundred thousand Prussians. For although these powers in conjunction may command many more than two hundred thousand men, yet I think they cannot conveniently detach a greater number from their respective territories.

But how shall an equal army be obtained to face an enemy two hundred thousand strong ? I answer, by a method plain, expeditious, and not untried to a certain degree by this country. We will offer every court in Europe, that is not leagued with France, their own terms, to furnish as many troops as each can spare. Hesse-Cassel, to do her justice, hath been ever ready to take our money : Wolfenbuttle hath not been backward upon occasion : Saxony, Bavaria, and even the Empress Queen of Hungary, have the sensation of our gold still recent in their palms. The Empress of *all the Russias* is indeed an august and resplendent princess, yet even she perhaps may think it no diminution of her greatness to accept an annual present from Britain, under the honourable title of a subsidy. And if she cannot be brought to lend a great body of forces to the direct defence of H——r, she may however be prevailed with to cause a diversion of the enemy's force by a formidable irruption into the King of Prussia's dominions, in case he shall move a soldier in the cause of France. This high and respectable Empress entertains an inveterate hatred to his Prussian Majesty ; and she not only keeps an enormous regular army, but fosters a nest of Cossacks and Calmucks, and other irregulars, men familiar with ravage,

vage, devastation, and slaughter. Thus to gratification of her vengeance, co-operating with British money, why might she not at a proper season carry havock, and let slip these dogs of war to plunder, burn, and destroy the King of Prussia's country? Fifty or sixty thousand Russians (regular and irregular) hovering on the frontiers of Livonia, at no great distance from part of the Prussian states, would keep that monarch in check, over-awe his complaisance to the French, and deprive them wholly of his succour. In this event, there will remain no more than one hundred thousand Frenchmen to encounter: and the contributions of soldiers from the several Germanic Powers before enumerated, and as many more as may be necessary, will, when joined to the national troops of H——r, compose a solid mass of resistance, impenetrable to the arms of France. Now this state of affairs in Europe, it is evident, will put Great Britain exactly upon the same footing as if she had no interest or concern upon the European continent. For the French and their grand ally will be completely disposed of, and disarmed of their power to injure your M——'s E——l dominions: and Britain in the mean while attending to her own business, may exert as much vigour as she can in the prosecution of her naval and American wars.

Here the Speech of the M———r ended, and a conversation ensued upon the subject of subsidies, from whence it fell by a natural transition to several pensions which it would be necessary to grant very soon out of the Irish establishment. In fine, the Minister made his bow with obsequious devotion, and retreated backwards out of the C——t, locking the door after him.

A dis-

A discourse so perfectly well conceived, and containing so interesting a plan, could not but make the most favourable impression where it was addressed, and well deserved to have a fair copy of it laid up among the most valuable papers.

In what part of the royal scrutore it was found after a late demise, I have not been able certainly to determine : but wherever it was, we are well assured, that upon its being opened, the following one was found carefully inclosed in it. No one ever called in question the genuineness of the former of these speeches ; and the reader may rest intirely satisfied, that this second is equally well authenticated.

That he may come to it with a just idea of the persons and occasions, let him imagine to himself a scene, upon the back ground of which appear a croud of rioters, crying, *Hanoverian cowards—No yellow sash—No Hanover troops—No Hanover rudder.* The agitators in two different parts of the piece, beginning their speeches with —*His majesty's known partiality to Hanover.—I affirm, that it is impossible to bring the English and Hanoverian troops into one line of battle.*

On the near ground let there be seen a still greater collection of mutineers, crying, Give us Minorca ; no card-playing admirals * ; no German alliances ; no land wars ; America and Old England for ever. Under the wall of a palace, let there be represented a collection of Franchise boxes, gold, silver and Bath metal, which are formed into a pillar ; by the help of which, and the assistance of the croud below, a tall hero ascends a wall, and makes his way into a closet window.

An entrance gained in so forcible a manner, could not entitle an adventurer to the most favourable reception : at first therefore the hero was but coldly looked upon, and was every day in dread of being rumped out again ; but as he knew how to accommodate himself to every occasion, he gladly seized the advantage given him by an event, which happened soon after, and at once made his peace and his fortune by the following speech.

L E T

* The reader will remember that the Casuists of those times determined that it was a capital crime in an admiral to go to White's ; but that cowardice, and the not going to fight in the day of battle, had no criminality in it.

LET not your Majesty any longer look with displeasure on me, or doubt of my intire willingness to serve you, upon account of the manner in which I have introduced myself into this favourite recess. Often had my enemies kept this door locked against me, and left me no other way of entering, than that which I have been forced to make use of, in order to raise myself into your presence, and gain a favourable audience of the offers I have to make.

My rivals, I know, have long represented me as adverse to your most interesting concerns ; as one, who had personally affronted you ; as a professed enemy to your electorate ; and as having declared a perpetual war against Hanover. True it is, Sir, that the earnest desire which I had of being better known to your Majesty, has obliged me to employ all my powers of oratory in harangues of this kind ; but let not your Majesty, therefore, conceive the worse of me. These, my Liege, are speeches, not intended for the royal ear ; but necessary for a younger brother,

ther, who desires to distinguish himself, and to force his way into power. Your Majesty, by seeing me in this place, sees the most convincing proof of their efficacy ; and, so long as I am allowed to stay here, shall never hereafter be offended with them. Having made them so far answer my purpose, as to have procured for me an admittance into your closet, and a gracious hearing in your presence, I now offer them up, with all my other flatulent patriotic declarations, to your Majesty's pleasure. Ill should I deserve the attention of the royal ear, if I had yet to learn, that every public British measure ought to yield and give way to your Majesty's more peculiar and electoral concerns. Whatever, therefore, may have been the protestations, which I have been making in the public ears, against disgracing your Majesty's image, by suffering your coin to be seen in Germany ; against land wars, and continental measures ; against Hanover troops, and German mercenaries ; I now sacrifice them all to the hope of your Majesty's favour ; and I now undertake to carry these very German measures, and all your electoral views, to a much greater height,

height, than your Majesty has hitherto been permitted to entertain the least conception of.

Others, Sir, may promise great things ; but I only can effect them. My rivals, who have so long kept me at a distance from you, may represent your interest as depending upon the preservation of their power and influence. They may boast of what they will do for the benefit of your electorate ; but I can do much more. They, Sir, may promise, but their power is come to an end. How well soever contrived, or how extensively soever laid, may be their private schemes of corruption ; yet their general character is gone ; all the public confidence in them is lost : the people, the people, Sir, will no longer bear them : the pulse of the public is against them : and how much soever may be in their wishes, yet it is very little which they have in their power to do for your Majesty's interest.

I, on the contrary, stand high in the public esteem : I have a character, and a full
grown

grown reputation. The frequent well-known professions, which I have so long been making, of a pure regard for the public weal and the people's interest, have gained me their intire confidence, and will enable me to dispose of them as I please. And I can engage to procure for your German service at least thirty or forty millions of the public treasure, before this character shall be worn out.

Full well, Sir, do I know the anxious concern, which at this time agitates and oppresses your royal breast. That scourge of the empire, and terror of all the German courts, is now strongly expostulating with you for having made a separate treaty without his consent, and threatens to take his full revenge on your electorate.

Full well do I conceive how indignantly your Majesty has brought your mind to sue to the court of Vienna, to make your electoral peace with that of Versailles: that court which has rendered such ungrateful returns for your having so freely lavished away the
blood

blood and treasure of your subjects in their service ; and for their sake only, and to mediate for them a peace, made a sacrifice of Cape Breton, and the most important conquests of your crown. Easily do I conceive the strong reluctance which you must feel against being brought to acknowledge yourself indebted to a court, which, tho' the natural head of the empire, you have so long been rivalling in grandeur ; and, by superadding the splendor of your regal court to that of your electorate, have been endeavouring to outshine.

Full well am I apprised, that the defence of the electorate against the arms of France alone is a burden too heavy for the united strength of this kingdom to bear. In vain has it already paid and supported a large body of Hessians in its defence. Already do I see the two hundred thousand pounds, which I got for you in the spring, together with twelve hundred thousand pounds more of your Majesty's own money, and the whole electoral revenue, all swallowed up in the expence of half a campaign. These things,
Sir,

Sir, might serve as a warning to any other minister, whose zeal was less fervent in your service, not to undertake a task, which the nature and situation of the country renders, I fear, utterly impracticable. But far from being discouraged by any of these difficulties, I rather rejoice in the contemplation of them ; as that gives a peculiar additional merit to my services. Nor let the least suspicion or doubt disturb your royal confidence in me, upon account of my having formerly declared, *that Hanover would prove a mill-stone about the neck of any minister, who should take upon himself the defence of it.* That very declaration will enable me to bind and rivet it so much the faster round the neck of this kingdom ; and whether Britain can bear up and swim with it or not, your electorate shall be the last to sink.

Sir, a minister of less ardour in your service, perhaps, might coldly advise the giving up of this small peculium to the good of these your kingdoms : or rather the leaving it to the terms which your own chancery have made for themselves, and to the care of
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the empire, whose proper concern it is, to see them fulfilled. This is, doubtless, the measure which the interest of England, and the desires of the people of your electorate, would manifestly direct us to. But ill does this suit the resentments of your Majesty's breast; and less does it comport with the interest of that prince, who, after letting in the French upon your electorate, now commands us to keep them employed there, and prevent their interrupting him in his conquests.

Sir, what he commands, and you expect, shall be obeyed; and when your Majesty has already ruined your own private and electoral fortune, by bearing only a part of the expence of this war, no good subject here shall be so mean, no minister at least can deserve the name of a minister, nor any one else hope to rise under your favour, who, for so precious a concern, will not run his country also upon the same ruin.

Sir, the ruin of Britain only is not the subject of my principal regard. But the con-
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sideration,

sideration, which much more disturbs me, is this: That I plainly foresee, that the ruin of my country this way will not prove the saving of that which holds so much higher a place in my esteem. Should Prussia, in revenge for your having left him in the treaty of Closter-Seven, again league with France or with Austria against Hanover, the ruin of your electorate is then inevitable and complete. Already do I see your aged Majesty trembling for its fate; while you represent to yourself so fierce a ravager traversing it from end to end; carrying captive all the youth of it, to be consumed in his armies, and laying the rest of the inhabitants under the heaviest contributions to maintain his other wars. Should the most exorbitant demands be uncomplied with, I need not picture to you the consequence. Which way soever this great destroyer turns his face, a fire burneth before him, and desolation follows in his rear. Yet, Sir, let not the royal blood desert your cheeks upon the occasion. One means there is still remaining to save your electorate: and to administer this comfort is the motive of my now presenting myself before your Majesty;

Majesty ; and well, my Liege, am I now rewarded in beholding joy and hope again sparkle in your eyes.

Violent as are the extortions of this mighty ravager, yet he knows his interest, and will listen to it. He knows that your electorate has already undergone the pillage of French and Austrian commissaries : twice, therefore, has it already been devoured by these cruel harpies ; and he is himself too well acquainted with their greediness, to believe that they can have left much in the country for him to glean after them. A sum of money, therefore, will certainly appease his wrath, and satisfy all his demands. Three or four hundred thousand pounds sterling will be found a much more effectual help to him in his other wars, than the levying a new one upon Hanover.

Too well, indeed, do I foresee, that his sagacity will soon discern and take advantage of our fears. Three or four hundred thousand pounds, perhaps, may not content him : but whatever be the sum, which he may in-

list on, even to four or five millions of crowns, this country shall be made at once to advance the whole. And believe me, Sir, there is no danger, but that he will instantly perceive, that the laying this great kingdom under contribution must prove for him a much richer mine, and a much more fruitful resource, than he can hope to find in the pillage of one miserable and exhausted electorate.

Nor let your Majesty conceive the least doubt of my having power to effect this. The whole nation, Sir, is now drunk with the joy of my advancement. Your Majesty lately saw the vast crouds which addressed me as their patriot ; and could the royal ken have extended much farther, that would have discovered the concurrent desires of your whole kingdom in my favour. The people, the people, Sir, are mine ; and they shall pay for it. This hateful pernicious treaty of Closter Seven, which has intirely discharged this kingdom from any farther concern about your electorate, shall be broken. The inglorious padlock, which has been put upon your
Hanoverians

Hanoverians swords, shall be taken off ; and tho' the honour of your royal son should be in some measure involved in the disgrace, yet, when I thus present myself before your Majesty as the humble slave of your pleasure, and give up all my former professions, and all the interests of the people I am intrusted by, to your electoral will and command, I persuade myself that your Majesty will not deny me so small a boon, as to let me thus see the total disgrace and downfall of that my hated rival, who so lately turned me out, and took my place. Grant me, Sir, but this triumph, and command from me what services you please.

Should then the Brandenburger, in the height of his power, after having himself let in the French upon your electorate, injoin us to keep a great army to oppose them there, in order to prevent the French from marching to interrupt his ravages in Saxony and Mecklenburgh, and the other German states ; his injunctions shall be obeyed, tho' this nation should be put to an annual expence of five or six millions for its maintenance.

Should

Should he, the more effectually to guard against our ever entering hereafter into a treaty like to this of Closter-Seven, impose on us an absolute prohibition from *making any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, or any other convention or agreement whatsoever, with France or Austria, without his consent* ; every member of your c—l shall be made to sign this act of submission.

Should he, in order the more effectually to secure our obedience, refuse to trust us with the command of our own army, and send us a general of his own, who shall command and dispose of our mercenaries and our natives as he pleases ; and who, in the last extremity, may carry them both to Magdeburgh for his use ; still shall this mighty ravager be obeyed.

Should any other minister attempt thus to debase the nation's honour, I, Sir, would be one of the first to sound the alarm, and bellow out for Britain and independence. Shall the dignity of the imperial crown of these
realms

realms be laid so low, as to become a suppliant and tributary to an elector of Brandenburg? Shall all Europe see us thus own ourselves to be held in thralldom to a puny electorate, *that is scarce to be found in the map*? And by thus buying off an evil from one quarter, shall we invite it down upon ourselves from every other? Well, Sir, did your people once know, and often had we told them in speeches and protests, “ that
 “ Great Britain is a powerful kingdom; which,
 “ while it acted in its true true character,
 “ would be superior to its enemies: but should
 “ it ever appear, that an inferior German prin-
 “ cipality was really, and Great Britain only
 “ nominally, the director and actor; such a
 “ change in the cause must necessarily pro-
 “ duce a deplorable difference in the effect;
 “ and Hanover, which could neither give
 “ strength nor consideration to Britain, might
 “ thus diminish the one, and take the other
 “ wholly away.” *

All this, and much more, - Sir, would be said against any of your former servants, who
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* *Vide* Lords Protest, Anno 1744.

should make the least attempt of this kind : but this it is which will render my administration peculiarly useful to you. That I can certainly effect that, which would bring inevitable ruin on any other man to attempt. Let your other servants but *lend me their majority*, and let your Majesty but engage to stop the mouths of your former ministers, and I have all the other mouths in Britain to second any thing which I shall propose.

Sir, let it be once understood by your people, that Prussia is my favourite, and from that moment he shall become theirs. Instead of being the disturber of the empire, and the terror of every protestant state, he shall from that time become at once the champion of protestantism, the bulwark of the German liberties, and the hero of the age. I will name him The Magnanimous, and that title alone shall procure him millions. Nor shall any British parliament, while your Majesty lives, dare refuse to grant away the public treasures in his cause.

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Whatever shall be the event of his battles, how dreadful soever be the carnage which he shall make or suffer, your ministers in foreign parts shall best find their account in making themselves the trumpets of his fame; your Gazettes shall turn his losses into great and glorious victories: the mob shall get drunk with Prussian ale, and your citizens illuminate for the sake of them: and your senators shall address, and vote away millions under the belief of them.

Should after this his magnanimity be worn out, and the title be laught into contempt, I will then find him a new one. The ladies in the galleries shall be taught to favour him *as a most meritorious prince, endeared to us by his losses, and to be revered for the resources which he draws from himself*. Should the more discerning of them smile at the expression, and doubt whether he really have within himself those resources, so copiously to draw from; yet the well-powdered heads below shall think this very fine oratory, and a very suf-

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ficient reason, why such a prince of resources should draw from *them* so much the more.

As one deception goes off I will invent for him another: The classics shall be brought in league with him, nor shall my votaries ever want a pretence to engage the people in his behalf. Though, like the crafty Ulysses, he be feared and hated by his co-estates, yet this kingdom shall become his tributary, and be taught to glory in calling him its ally. Fast as he shall make all the courts of Europe his enemies, this nation shall think them hers, and engage to support him against them all. She shall affect to fight under his auspices *, and pour forth her treasures in his service. Doubt not, Sir, but, while a single million remains with us, Britannia shall reach out her

* Not a vote in the last parliament for the hire of our mercenaries, or the support of our national troops in Germany, but we constantly see added; "to act against the common enemy, in concert with the king of Prussia:" so much was that army considered as kept for *his* service.

laſt to keep him up, and ſhall herſelf ſink,
or ſee that he be upheld.

Adverſis rerum immerſabilis undis.

A merely Engliſh miniſter, whoſe concern for his country ſhould out-run his zeal for your electorate, might be tempted to think it leſs honourable for this great kingdom to be thus kept in ſubjection. But I, Sir, ſee it highly proper, that a prince, who holds ſo precious a depoſitum in his power, ſhould command every thing which England can give to buy off its fate. Juſtly, therefore, ought Britannia to ſubmit to his pleaſure : I, her huſband and her guide, who ſhould be the guardian of her honour, will myſelf lay her proſtrate before him ; and inſtead of making this foreign captain *buy* it, at leaſt I will myſelf be the dear purchaſer of my own diſgrace. By paying one army for him in Sileſia, to defend his conqueſts ; by maintaining another for him in Heſſe, to ſecure his quiet ; and by penſioning his governor of Magdeburgh on her own Iriſh eſtabliſhment ; Britain ſhall herſelf be made to pay the price of her

own dishonour, and become much more eminently, than any other nation,

Dedecorum pretiosior emprix *.

These, Sir, are the important services which I offer: such as I persuade myself your Majesty will think well worthy your acceptance. And these are services, which your Majesty now sees, that I alone have sufficient power to perform. Where, Sir, have you a minister, who has this *responsibility* like myself? If there be any, who thus commands the people's confidence, and can lead them into what expence he pleases, *let him stand forth*. Grant me, Sir, but the triumph I have desired, and the absolute guidance of your councils, and behold all the treasures of this nation opened to your disposal. Britain shall tax all her industry, and drain the very vitals of her future commerce,

* *Sed iussa coram non sine conscio
Surgit marito, seu vocat institor,
Seu navis Hispanæ magister,
Dedecorum pretiosus emptor.*

to find supplies; and nothing which her whole credit can reach to shall be thought too much for your electorate. That precious land shall to the last be preserved inviolate, or *this* be made to perish in the defence of it.

Here the orator ended his discourse; and, having made his humble obeisance, the monarch graciously deigned to signify his acceptance of his service. A conversation then ensued upon the subject of enlarging foreign subsidies; from whence the adventurer made a very easy transition to certain smaller ones of his own. Something was mentioned of a provision for sisters, and of securing honours to a family; the discourse at last ended in the preference of pensions upon the American establishment above those on the English or Irish, as they alone are not subject to deductions.

In fine, the adventurer, having obtained the utmost of his wishes, made his bow with the most obsequious devotion, and retired backward out of the closet. And that he might never after this find it locked against him,

him, the monarch himself gave him a key, and from that time viewed him with the complacency due to his prime minister, and the best friend of *his* country.

Possibly the conversation about pensions may have been held at the end of the gentleman's ministry, rather than in the beginning of it ; but the reader will excuse this, and a few other anachronisms, which the author chose to submit to, for the sake of laying the whole subject in one view before his mind.

Should it be thought rather unkind treatment to publish a private discourse, so very different from the parliamentary ones, I answer, this is the very treatment which this gentleman's party practised to others, and by which he was himself raised unto power. And this it was, which made it necessary to print the former of these speeches ; not only to shew how much ministers are like to each other, and how very much therefore it imports us not to resign up our judgment, and yield an implicit confidence to any of them ; but also to obviate any objection

jection which might arise in the reader's mind against this usage as a hard measure, by shewing that it is his own. And whatever be the reluctance which a good mind ought to feel against the seeming to impeach another man's sincerity, yet let but the reader look over the three last heads of the before-quoted pamphlet*, and compare the professed deliberate sentiments, by which he raised himself into power, with the use which he afterwards made of it; and then let the most candid man judge, and charity itself pass the sentence.

Should it be said, that our gratitude for the great successes we have met with elsewhere should incline us to draw a veil over the inconsistency of the German measures; to this I answer; in the first place, that I am not at all the more disposed to believe any assertion, for the seeing it repeated fifty times over in the news-papers. There we read

Senegal,
Goree,

* Deliberate Thoughts.

Guadaloupe,

Guadaloupe,

Quebec,

Montreal,

Pondicherry,

rang over in their several changes, as if we owed them all to him.

How the whole merit of taking these places is his, or what proportion of it belongs to him, no one of them has made the least attempt to explain. I am far from saying that he has none; but it would be easy to shew, that his proportion is not the greatest: but the distinct discussion of each of these services would carry me too far from my present subject. Whatever may have been his share of merit in any of these conquests, there is scarce any one of these, or the other operations in our British war, but has been either retarded, or rendered more hazardous, or less extensive, by means of that fatal attention to another interest, and the derivation of all the first supplies of the year to that more favourite service.

And the demerit of carrying us into Germany against such repeated declarations,
against

against such solemn assurances, and against such clear convictions. This is the weight which, in the estimation of wise and good men, now sinks him; and a weight under which his reputation in future history will never rise again.

The notion of the German war's being a diversion, is a pretence, which was never thought of at the time, when that war was first adopted. On the contrary, the grand argument which was made use of by this gentleman and his associates, against the Russian and Hessian treaty, was, that it would divert our money from the American service to the German. I say *money* only, for at that time no man had the hardiness to entertain the least thought of our sending troops thither.

Even so late as when the troops were first sent over, was it not with a declaration, that they should not go farther than the mouths of the great rivers of the Ems and the Weser? If this had been the motive thought of, whence then that declaration? If the mak-

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ing a diversion was the end proposed, then the more we pushed the French, and the greater we made that diversion, the better would that end be answered: and if we could have pushed them into Alsace or to Paris, the diversion would have been greatest of all, and most effectually have prevented their interrupting us in our American conquests. In fact, it was not the diversion which caused our successes, but our successes which made the diversion; I mean our successes in our own war furnished a pretence to excuse the German war, by alledging that it was a diversion.

But this is an argument which need not farther be insisted on, because we have now heard it universally disowned, and given up: even the gentleman's own friends have now declared, *I should have advised other measures—I never thought the German war a diversion.*

But after being beat out of every other pretence, the last excuse is; *I found you in Germany; I did not carry you thither.* What
may

may be the secret-reserved meaning of this assertion, I do not pretend to say: but as far as records and public facts can be allowed to speak, we may venture to say, that he did not find us in Germany, but he brought us thither.

This gentleman took the seals the first time December 4, 1756, when the Hessians and Hanoverians were yet in England. The first councils, therefore, which could be held for forming the army of observation in Germany, were when he was in place; and the first notice, which the publick received of it, was brought the 17th of February following, *in a message to the House of Commons by Secretary Pitt, informing them that the French preparations were bent against his majesty's electoral dominions, and those of the king of Prussia; and that his majesty confides that the commons will assist him in forming an army of observation, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with the king of Prussia.* And the first sum which was granted for the German service, was the two hundred thousand pounds, (voted February 21) for assisting

his majesty in forming and maintaining, during the present year, an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence of his majesty's electoral dominions, and for his engagements with the king of Prussia, in consequence of this motion of Mr. Secretary Pitt's.

Such was the rise of the first German war : in it the battle of Hastenbeck was brought on, and lost by a double failure of our favourite ally : the first was his withdrawing his garrison from Wesel, and letting in the French upon Hanover : the next was the not sending thither the succours promised *.

This first war was totally brought to an end by the treaty of Closter-seven as effectually, with respect to any obligations remaining upon England, as if there had been a ten years interval of peace. All the German parties concerned (I mean Hanover, Hesse, and

* Are there not to be found, in the letters of the royal commander, such expostulatory complaints as, *Where are these Prussians?*

Brunswick)

Brunswick) had assented to the dissolution of that army of observation, were in treaty with France, and some of them had actually agreed to lend their troops to the court of Versailles.

Why this treaty was broke does not appear: it certainly was not at the desire of our allies, for they strongly remonstrated against it: not because they had any tenderness about our protestant hero, for they readily offered to fight against him; but because they thought themselves bound by this convention, and had accordingly made their agreements elsewhere. See the duke of Brunswick's own account of it in his letter to prince Ferdinand, for the year 1758.

“ As to my troops, you may see what I
 “ have written on that head to the Hanove-
 “ rian ministry. The duke of Cumberland, by
 “ the convention of Closter-seven, dismissed
 “ them and sent them home; the said ministry
 “ gave me notice of this convention as what
 “ bound me; the march of the troops was
 “ settled; an incident happening they halted;
 “ the

“ the obstacle being removed, they were to
 “ have continued their march. The court of
 “ Hanover will no longer be bound by the
 “ convention : whilst I not only accepted it
 “ on their word, but have also, in conformity
 “ to their instructions, negotiated at Versailles
 “ and Vienna.

“ After all this, they would have me con-
 “ tradict myself, break my word, and entirely
 “ ruin my estate and my honour. Did you
 “ ever know your brother guilty of such
 “ things ? It is true that I have, as you say,
 “ sacrificed my all ; or rather, I have been
 “ sacrificed. The only thing left me is my
 “ honour : and in the unhappy contrast of
 “ our situations, I lament both you and myself,
 “ that it should be from you, my dear bro-
 “ ther, I should receive the cruel advice to give
 “ up my honour : I cannot listen to it ; I can-
 “ not recede from my promise ; my troops,
 “ therefore, must return home, agreeable to
 “ what the duke of Cumberland and the Ha-
 “ noverian minister stipulated, with regard to
 “ me, in the strongest manner. I am afraid
 “ that

“ that the true circumstances of things are
 “ concealed from you.”

The reason, upon which we chose to rest the proof of the French having broken the treaty, happened unluckily to be such, as could be no reason at all to *us*, unless we had intended to break it ourselves. What was the demand of disarming the Hessian and Wolfenbuttle troops to *us*, if we did not intend again to make use of them? Or what danger was there, that the French would not restore their arms to them, when those troops themselves were going to enter into their own service? In truth, the French desisted from their demand; the Landgrave and duke of Brunswick were satisfied; the Hanoverian chancery had obtained the peace they desired; and all wise Englishmen were congratulating their country, on its having so happily escaped from so pernicious a war: when our patriot, who was now restored a second time, told the house, *that the Hanoverians must be assisted, but not till that infamous padlock, put upon their swords, was taken off.*

What

What this dark speech meant, was not then generally understood; but some days after the Dutch mail brought the interpretation of it, by an account that a Prussian general had taken the command, and had declared the convention of Closter-seven broken, and was putting the army in motion again.

In consequence of this measure, a message was brought January 18, 1758, to the house of commons by Mr. Secretary Pitt, *informing them that his majesty having ordered the army, formed last year in his electoral dominions, to be put into motion again, from the 28th of November last, to act in concert with his good brother and ally the king of Prussia, desired a speedy supply, to enable him to subsist, and keep it together:* and in consequence of this motion 100,000 l. was immediately voted.

As early therefore as there could be any councils held for opening a war in Germany, this gentleman was in them: and the first notices of each of the German wars, and the first monies granted for that service, were both

both directed by Mr. Secretary Pitt. Is this finding us in Germany, or bringing us thither?

There is one more consideration, which greatly aggravates and enhances the publick misfortune; and that is, that no minister for these fifty years past, had so little reason to yield himself up to a foreign interest, or was half so well fortified against it.

Other men had been bred in notions of subjection to a court: they had long flourished under the smiles of it, and knew not to endure its frowns. In such men it were less to be wondered at, if they should discover any undue complaisance or conformity to the prevailing prejudices: but this was a minister not brought in by favour, but by force. He had addressed his flattery to the people, and not to the crown, and made his way into the closet by storm. He was the people's minister, and was honoured and entrusted by them, as the patron and defender of the British interest. They had

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for this purpose, armed him with more than tribunitial power, and rested all their interests in his hands: he therefore might, with the greatest propriety, have opposed the servile compliances of those, who, to secure their power, or to raise a family, might be willing to fall in with the favourite passions or prejudices: he might have set his face against the insinuations of this or that German minister, who should have come among us. He might have stopt the influence of foreign councils, and with efficacy have pronounced his Veto upon their farther proceedings.

Should any court cabals have been hardy enough to have turned him out for this, the whole nation would have adored him so much the more, and would have brought him in again with double honour and with double power. And to what height might he not have carried his country's happiness, and his own honour, in his sovereign's glory,
if

if he had firmly adhered to those just principles, upon which for twenty years together he had been so eloquently declaiming? Instead of this, what is it which we see? The very man, who had said these things so well, instantly turning his back upon his own avowed principles, proving a rebel to all his former professions, and the whole foregoing tenor of his life; and self-tempted, self-convicted, and self-condemned, plunging at once into all the ruin and confusion of a German chaos.

Such is the history of a fallen Patriot!

But it is not the character of any particular man, or the interest of a party, which should make the principal object of our concern. It is the measure, and the recovering ourselves from the ruinous effects of it, which is now become the point of greatest importance; and that is the point which I now return to.

Reader, this is the measure, and this is the treaty, from which, I hope, we are now going to be delivered, but which may be brought under public consideration. I have related the manner, in which we seem to have been drawn into it, that we may the better judge of its merits. They who are of opinion, that the representations here given of it are the true ones, will, I hope, shew that they have virtue enough to vote against it. Should there be any who will vote for it, they will doubtless be able to answer them.

Men may talk of the public faith and the obligation of treaties, and their numbers may be their defence, but though the term and the obligation of this treaty were not expired ; yet no man can inwardly believe that this nation can be bound to assist in making a man great, in order to enable him to hold us in such shameful dependence. Whatever extravagances, during the affluence of our wealth, and the high state of our credit, we may have

have been betrayed into ; yet at a time like the present, when a new war is fallen upon us, which must necessarily create new demands for our money, and at the same time lessen our trade, and all our former resources, no one surely can seriously think of giving up the honour and wealth of the kingdom, in this useless manner, to a foreigner.

To talk of a loan of new money is, I fear, the way to have none, either from a new one, or the old. Like extravagant heirs, we are giving bond for one hundred and forty pounds to raise a hundred, and then sending that hundred into Germany, where, under the management of foreigners, it will not go so far as fifty ; perhaps the combined genius of a Prussian commissary with a Prussian general may find out a method to shorten the account, and lay out forty of it there for our use, and remit back the other sixty to buy a hundred pound stock for his own. While we are mortgaging our revenues, running down our credit, and annihilating the one
half

half of all the national property in the funds, to raise twelve millions a year, in order to satisfy these greedy harpies.

What is still more alarming, the interest of these twelve millions a year, by the disposition of our taxes, has been charged upon the labour of the industrious poor, to be a perpetual load upon our manufactures, and cramp the sale of them in all the foreign markets, till at length even our own colonies will buy of other nations, whom we are enabling to undersell us.

In short this German war must be brought to an end, or our credit must sink under it. [Whoever shall be our ministers, even the oldest of them may live to see it. And, if such men now persist, in refusing to make the recalling of our troops from Germany a matter of their choice ; the public will very severely require it of them, that they be provided with all the necessary expedients for effecting it, when it comes to be a matter of necessity.

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We have now heard it twice made a doubt, whether we could bring home our troops if we would. Those men at least will most strongly oppose the sending any more of our countrymen into this den of destruction, from whence, by their own account, there appear ——

Vestigia nulla retrorsum.

Reader ; great and wise men have publicly questioned, whether, supposing that we were immediately to order our troops home, the allies might not turn against them, and prevent their retreat. Should this be so, what a scene does this open to our view ! Let those who heard it, and who have the least degree of compassion left for their countrymen, think with themselves in time, what is to be done in that case. Shall our army resist ? Behold a Prussian general, with forty thousand foreigners, hired to cut the throats of twenty thousand Englishmen ! Shall they submit ? See twenty thousand English hostages delivered up to a few German princes,
to

to be held by them as a security for the payment of pretended arrears, or any other requisitions they may be pleased to make upon us; and after that subject to be demanded by the French, as the only victims which our enemies will then accept, or allow these princes to buy their peace with.

Such were the sacrifices, which in a former reign we have been brought to run the hazard of making to a foreign interest. Doubtless there is a predilection, which every man ought to indulge in his regards towards his native country. Such a disposition, therefore, we must own was laudable in our former kings, though we ourselves may have sometimes been sufferers by it. But what then were their ministers? were they also foreigners? and must not therefore the breast of every generous Englishman be stung with shame at the thought, that there ever should have been a time, when the love of one great and good man to his native country, should
have

have weighed more, and been more strongly operative, than the united force of all that love, which eight millions of Britons bear to theirs? It is however our great happiness to think, that the only true and rightful sovereign of these kingdoms is not of the house of Hanover—but of the house of England. And when that gracious sovereign, born and educated among us, is pleased to glory in the name of Briton; may the just vengeance of the present age, as well as the certain curse of all future ones, light on the heads of those, who, by a base and treacherous court, shall attempt to make him German!

F I N I S.



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